1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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requested. The new *pĕdanda* then assumes his priestly name, and thenceforward may recite the *wedas*, pronounce the *mantras*, sprinkle holy water, use the *bajra*, the symbolic thunderbolt, make the *manchagiri*, the 'five offerings', and prepare and distribute holy water every morning.

14

The Privileged Position of the Priests

The priests held a very prominent place in the former Balinese principalities. Though law books such as the *Widi Pĕpinchatan* and the *Siwasasana* state explicitly that the priests should follow royal regulations, the same books also point out that it is the duty of the ruler to take the directions of the priests into consideration in issuing such regulations, for the ruler and the priests exercise the power of government together. Elsewhere the two are compared to a helmsman and a ship, which cannot reach a certain goal without one another.

Nor were the priests at all encumbered by royal decrees. If the ruler needed something from them he had to request it. They were exempt from taxes and services, a privilege they still claim as regards income tax and commutation of soccage service. Various of their privileges were also shared by their subordinates who enjoyed the 'shadow of the banyans'.

Ordinary justice and usual punishments were unfit for them. Judiciary power was exercised either directly by the ruler or by the mentor of the accused priest, while in dubious cases the whole congregation of priests gathered together for a decision.

It goes without saying that the word of an ordinary man was considered of much less value than that of a priest. In many cases the latter could remove every suspicion by means of a purification rite in the presence of his mentor. The costs of this ceremony fell to the accuser, who was punished besides.

If a priest was really shown to be guilty, the purification was in many cases preceded by a pilgrimage consisting of bathing in the sea alternated with a stay in the mountains. There were three

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and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the same month.

The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year, passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*, religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing. But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year.

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to.

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*.

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members.

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564 men who were in turn descendants of the highest divinities. This
773 fitted perfectly with the Balinese idea of rank and with their cult of ancestors. In many legends the great kings and religious teachers of the past were considered as reincarnations of gods, so I was never surprised when a priest or a prince assured me in all seriousness that his family descended from Indra or Wisnu, or some such divine character.

Such is the caste complex of some Balinese that I often found
[554] silly boys from Den Pasar posing as members of the higher castes when they visited a strange town where they were not known. Some common people say that once they were of a higher caste and that their present state is due to faults committed by their
[775] ancestors. Good behaviour on this earth brings a raising of caste in the next incarnation, and bad behaviour the opposite; consequently social position in the world of men is the result of behaviour in former lives. Many Wesias claim that their families were Satrias lowered in rank while they were ordinary humans; such was the case of the ancestor of the royal families of Badung and Tabanan, the legendary Arya Damar, who was lowered to a Wesia. On the other hand, the Balinese insist that the Radja of Karangasem was a Wesia who had himself elevated to the Satria caste after the fall of the Klungkung dynasty.

564 The "highest of the high," the Brahmanas, claim descent
792 from the great priest Wau Raúh, who wandered all over Bali in
773 legendary times creating children with women of all classes, even the servant women of his wives. These children, the future priests, were the heads of the various Brahmana families, some of which are higher than others, according to their purity of blood on account of the origin of their various mothers. The Brahmanas are further divided into two sects: the Siwa and Bodda, the descendants of the two famous brothers, the religious teachers Mpú Kuturan and Mpú Bharada, who created the laws for the Balinese. A distinction is made between initiated Brahmanas, the priests, and the uninitiated.

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It is generally recognized that the Brahmanas are higher than the Satrias, but a great undercurrent of disagreement and animosity has always existed between them on this account. The Satrias resented having to pay homage to the Brahmanas, and the legends and historical records are full of instances of the feud created by their struggle for caste supremacy. Kings were deposed by adventurers supported by Brahmanas; high priests cursed rulers and drove them to commit suicide, and often they had to flee and hide to protect their daughters from arrogant princes who wished to take them as wives, thus affronting their superior caste pride. Once in a *djauk* performance I saw a typical story enacted: The Radja of Bali, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, wanted to prove that Brahmanas were fakers when they claimed supernatural powers. He placed a duck in a well and sent for the highest priest in the country so that he could prove his magic power by guessing what was in the well. The priest said that it was a great serpent, a *naga*. The king laughed in his face and uncovered the well; a huge *naga*, fire streaming from its nostrils, shot out and coiled around the king's body and would have crushed him to death if the priest had not killed the *naga* with a miraculous arrow. From then on, the princes did not dare to question the supremacy of the Brahmanas. This legend is still commemorated at the cremation of Satrias, when the Brahmanic priest shoots arrows at the *naga banda*, the serpent that conveys the soul to heaven. (See page 387.)

But the dispute still goes unsettled, with the priest's sphere of influence restricted now to purely religious duties. Brahmanas are devoid of administrative powers, but serve as judges in the courts; they could not be sentenced to death and did not pay taxes to the princes, but instead had to pray for the well-being of the land. Their own regulations forbid them from attending cockfights or making money in commerce. They are exalted and aloof, but ordinary people secretly laugh at them; there is a popular story, *Pan Bunkling*, in which the hero is constantly poking fun at Brahmanas and their philosophy. The Brahmanas can be

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564 identified by the titles of Ida Bagus for men and Ida Ayú for
792 women, both meaning " Eminent and Beautiful."
554 Satrias are supposed to be the descendants of the former rulers,
564 and many claim to be of the family of Sri Krisna Kapakisan, the great overlord that ruled Bali at the time of Gadja Mada. He was supposedly born of a heavenly nymph and a stone Brahmana (Korn). The Satria caste is divided into two main groups; the Satria Dalem, the descendants of the ruling princes, and the lesser Satria Djawa, those of the prime ministers' families. Today Satria blood is very mixed, owing to intermarriage with the lower castes, some of which are considered even lower than the higher Wesias. The Satrias are called by the titles of Ratú, Anak Agung, Tjokorde, and so forth. Among the lesser groups are the Predewa and the Pangakan (who bear the titles of Prebagus and Presanghyang).

The members of the third caste, the Wesias, are better known in Bali by their title of Gusti, also subdivided into many groups. The highest, the Pregusti, are the descendants of Arya Damar, the predecessor of Gadja Mada. The lower Wesias are the descendants of the lesser Javanese princes and Pungawas. The Gustis are the majority of the Balinese nobility and are often politically influential.

564 Certain professions are unclean, and if practised within the
783 village pollute the *desa*, such as the indigo-dyers, pottery-, palm-sugar-, and *arak*-makers. Although Korn claims there are no real outcastes in Bali, I was told by everybody that indigo-dyers belong
[766] to a special caste, the *pamesan*, who are forbidden by traditional law to use wood or cotton in their cremation bier, which should be open, without a roof, and devoid of ornaments. They said that the *pamesan* are often rich and careful to conceal their origin. When it is mentioned that someone is a *pamesan*, it is done in a pitying whisper. There was a scandal in Den Pasar about someone who had maliciously accused another of being a *pamesan*. This may perhaps point to a trace of the idea of the outcaste.

565 The aristocracy divides the population of Bali into " insiders "

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793 at his private affairs, particularly at cremations, to assure his dead ones of the correct send-off into the nether world. To use the
● [554] services of a *pedanda* is a luxury that brings social prestige.

A *pedanda's* life is strictly regimented and full of prohibitions. We visited occasionally the good-natured, sociable *pedanda* of Sidan, who often remarked with a deep sigh of regret that the life of a priest was a difficult one because he had always to think of the gods. At lunch in his house, when he had a goose "cut" in our honour, he condescended to eat with us, but had to sit at a higher level, "otherwise the gods would not like it." With a grand disdainful gesture he threw a few grains of rice at the hungry dogs that surrounded us, explaining that he had to share his food with these evil spirits in disguise; then he proceeded to enumerate the many taboos he had to observe when
784 eating: he could not sit at a public eating-place or eat in the
793 market; he ate facing east and not until he had made his morning prayers. Beef, pork, and food from offerings were forbidden to him and he could not touch alcohol. Under no circumstances could he walk under dirty water. He was fat and old and he loved to ride in motor-cars, but since so many drain-pipes have been built recently at high points over the roads to connect the ricefields, he encountered great difficulties when travelling by motor-car. Every time he came to a pipe the car stopped. He stepped out and climbed to the top with great effort, to come down panting on the other side.

793 A *pedanda* marries, generally only once, a woman of his own caste, who becomes automatically a priestess (*pedanda istrí*), who must help her husband in the ritual and who may herself officiate on certain occasions. High priests do not observe sexual abstinence, although it is recommended in the scriptures. Ancestry is one of their great concerns, and the standing of the various Brahmanic families is determined by their purity of lineage. Balinese Brahmanas all claim descent from the mythical Wau Raúh, the highest priest of Madjapahit, who in coming to Bali took wives from the various castes. His descendants es-

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Sprinkle it over yourself and go and spray the singers. Then go home, go home to the Indraloka.

Go and bathe in the garden and adorn yourself with white orchids, then go home, goddess, go home, back to heaven, and disappear into space, go into space.

The wind blows, fly with the wind goddess; the body remains to take again its human form. . . .

The ceremony lasts for two or three hours, but despite the intensity of the performance the little girls give no evidence of exhaustion and the explanation they give comes back to our minds: the dancers, fascinated by their own rhythm, move in a supernatural world where fatigue is unknown. In ordinary life the little girls are normal children. However, they are forbidden to creep under the bed, to eat the remains of another person's food or the food from offerings, and must be refined in manners and speech. Their parents are exempt from certain village duties and are regarded highly by the rest of the community.

BLACK AND WHITE MAGIC

Every Balinese believes that his body, like an electric battery, accumulates a magic energy called *saktí* that enables him to withstand the attacks of evil powers, human or supernatural, that seek constantly to undermine his magic health. This *saktí* is not evenly divided; some people are born with a capacity to store a higher charge of magic than others; they become the priests, witch-doctors, and so forth, endowed with supernatural powers. The *saktí* can be trained to serve them at will by the systematic study of the arts of magic and meditation; but people whose hearts are contaminated by evil use the magic science to harm their enemies, or simply to satisfy their lowest instincts.

The Balinese use the term *saktí* like our "holy" or "sacred," but meaning, rather, charged with a magic (positive or negative) power that emanates from people as well as from objects like Rangda and Barong masks, or from places regarded as magically dangerous (*tenget* or *angkér*), like caves, rivers, and

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it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda*, a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

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In the old style villages with dual organization, the chief buildings in the temple court are the long, beautifully proportioned *balé agoeng*, often a pair, parallel with each other, called right (*kiwa*) and left (*tengen*). Here the ceremonial seating and feast of the council of elders takes place. They are seated then in two long rows facing each other, according to rank (seniority), and "balancing" the two sides of the village. At times a second duality is introduced by having the ceremonial seating in the left hand *balé agoeng* at dark moon (*tilem*), in the right hand building at full moon (*poernama*). This duality theme may recur in contemporary ritual where it is not apparent in social organization.

Godly Representations. When we pass from these old style villages to the more usual type, we may find remains and reminders of this old organization. There may be a *balé agoeng* though the council of elders and the dual organization no longer exist. There may be a ceremonial "seating of elders," that is people who go into trance as a rule, spokesmen of the gods. The thing which carries through from this old style organization to the rituals of the more modern villages and those which have come under Hinduistic caste influence, is the ceremonial feast at which these old people take part *representing* the gods. The evidence of the godly presence is in the sacramental meal offered to the gods in their persons, the food which they do not eat and the rice wine which they pour out in libation on the ground. "If the gods are pleased, they will come down," say the Balinese. If trance occurs, those who speak with the voices of the gods give further evidence that communications between the living and the inhabitants of above (*ring loewoer*), deities and ancestral spirits of dead kings and their courts, are set up and maintained. The gods are to be propitiated, their protection invoked, their will to be done.

Balinese people the world above and the world in which they live with vast hordes of demons (*kala*), evil spirits (*tonja*), and witchlike spirits (*léjak*) who follow the gods about, come to the feast which is spread for the gods, and are likely to devour all the offerings prepared for the gods before the gods have a chance at them. For these demonic hordes special offerings are therefore made and set outside the temple on a temporary rough shrine or on the ground. The people describe these demons as the rough, uncouth servitors of the gods, who are sure to accompany them and to be extraordinarily hungry, just as such servitors would come accompanying a prince if he came on a visit.

The one power which can hold at bay these demonic hordes is the *Barong*, a holy masked figure of a lion or tiger, played by two men, who dances around the village and around the outside of the temple to protect it. As

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When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

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A study of customs pertaining to Twins in Bali

by

JANE BELO.

Part I

Description of the Ritual at Sukawanã, District of Kintamani, Bali.

On the night of September 18, 1933, twins were born to a woman of Sukawanã. When the family saw that the twins were a boy and a girl, they knew that this was a great wrong, that disaster had come upon their house and upon their village. 845*

A brother of the father ran to the open place before the Balé Agung, the village temple. There he beat upon the *kul-kul*, the hollow wooden alarm, so that all the men of the village would come together to hear the direful news. And the sleeping villagers awoke in their tiny houses still warm with the dying coals of the evening fire, and came forth wrapped in their blankets, for at night it is bitter cold on the slopes of the Gunung Pĕnulisan. [209] [138]

One by one they approached and took their places in the Balé Sĕkãhã, the meeting place of the men. The ancient men, two Kĕbayan and four Bau, priests and rulers of the village, sat cross-legged on the South East side of the platform, for that is *kajã* and *luanang* in Sukawanã, the direction of the mountains, the abode of the gods, and the highest place. When it was known that Ni Jungir had given birth to twins, of which one was a boy and one a girl, the ancient men said, "that is *manak salah*", that is to have children in a wrong way. And it was [344] [554] [516]

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of the official Dutch government. This man has himself no place in the village council. But his father, who is now an old man to whom no one pays much attention, was once *kĕbayan*, holding the highest position in his half of the village [1]). According to the village-laws a *kĕbayan* is superannuated when his youngest child is married. He becomes *sayă*, a place of honor without power, and the position of *kĕbayan* is filled by the next highest member of his half of the village council. To the house of the Prĕbĕkĕl came that evening several of the elders from the council — there were things to discuss in the order of the ceremonies to come. In three days' time would begin the *odalan* in the temple, replacing the big *usabă* ceremony which was due on that day, at full moon. The *odalan* [2]) would last two days, and afterwards the gods must go away. They must be carried in procession to the sea or to a holy bathing place, where they would receive their "bath of purification" (*ngĕlungayang* or *mĕlis*). For in the case of the birth of boy and girl twins even the gods are dirtied. So far it had not been decided to which place the procession would go, nor on what day. The Prĕbĕkĕl would have to inform the Punggawă, head of the district, who would report to the Dutch Controleur what was being done in Sukawană. But that night nothing was decided. When the fire began to burn low the visiting elders went away, and the people of the house rolled themselves in their blankets to sleep.

On the morning following the big *mĕrĕyaschitä*, we were surprised to find offerings for *mĕcharu* again laid out in

[1]) The villagers are divided into two groups, *tĕngĕn* (right) and *kiwă* (left), into which they are born and remain throughout their life. Each group has its *kĕbayan*.

[2]) The *odalan* is not described because it was a ceremony belonging to the ordinary calendar of festivals in the Pură Balé Agung, and had nothing to do with the ceremonies occasioned by the birth of the twins. It is curious, however, to note that the *odalan* took place between the twin ceremonies, that is after the *mĕrĕyaschita* and before the *mĕlis*. In other villages where *mĕlis* was required for the birth of twins, it was arranged to take place before the *odalan*, and the people believed that only after *mĕlis* could an *odalan* be celebrated.

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guardian priest officiates, and in Bu'ungan the Balian konèng, a sort of witch-doctor, but both villages use holy water prepared by a Bujanggă, probably a Sĕngguhu. In Kĕtèwèl, where the purification differs for two sorts of twins, the more serious is celebrated by a Sĕngguhu and a Padandă, the less serious by the Pĕmangku and a Padandă. It would seem that a Sĕngguhu should rightly be in charge of the *mĕcharu*, for offerings to the bad spirits are his special field, and a Padandă should dedicate the offerings to the gods. But the services of a Sĕngguhu are difficult to obtain, for these priests are rare, and although in caste they rank much lower than the Brahman Padandă, they may charge a higher fee. For this reason the Sĕngguhu is often dispensed with. The Padandă has power to make offerings to the bad spirits, just as in Sukawană the Sĕngguhu also made offerings to the gods.

In the matter of offerings the variation of the ritual is ha[illegible]abulate, because the extent of the array depends not o[illegible]n the custom of the village where the twins are bor[illegible]pon the rank and relative wealth of the individual family. Only in the older, more strictly organized villages such as Sukawană, Trunyan, Taro, Lumbuan and Bu'ungan does the adat dictate an elaborate set of offerings which cannot be diminished even if the family of the twins is destitute. In such villages the array must be guaranteed by the members of the village group, and that which the family is not able to provide is supplied for it, creating a debt to the village and putting the family lands in pawn until the debt can be repaid. But in the more usual, less strict villages where the feeling for the unity and common interest of the group is less intense, the extent of the offerings is allowed to depend upon the resources of the affected family, and a small *mĕcharu* for poor people is considered equivalent in effectiveness to a great *mĕcharu* offered by people able to afford it. The rule is that the ceremony is low, middle, or high, according to the „birth" of the people, whether low, middle or high (*nistă, madyă, utamă*). The reference to birth seems to cover their wordly

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wealth as well as their caste. The *mĕcharu* given for twins born in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri included, as animal offerings, only five chickens, a duck, a pig, and a dog, and the other offerings were correspondingly less than those used in Sukawană, for instance, where a buffalo, a calf, a goat, and a goose had to be offered as well as the less expensive beasts. But to say that in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri the *mĕcharu* for *manak salah* comprises only offerings of five chickens, a duck, a pig and a dog, would be incorrect, for twins might conceivably be born to a family there which considered itself sufficiently "high" to give one of the more elaborate *charu*.

In connection with this it may be noted that whereas in the old villages the members of the Balé Agung are generally required to contribute to the ceremonies, upon each man falling the burden of his share, it is more customary for the father of the twins to go begging from door to door, receiving contributions which may not amount to more than a cent per household. In many districts he begs not only in his own Balé Agung but in three, seven, ten, or eleven nearby Balé Agung's, until he has collected the necessary funds. It is said that he may not be refused, no matter how small the contribution. The origin of this custom is probably that in former times the entire *nĕgară*, the kingdom ruled by a certain Rajă, was rendered *sĕbĕl* by the birth of boy and girl twins in one of its villages (so I was told by Chokordă Anom of the ruling house of Klungkung). The lontars say such twins *ngĕlĕtĕhin jagat*, or *bumi*, or *nĕgară*. This can be translated „to make unclean the country", and originally must have meant the whole kingdom, although now it is interpreted to mean a single Balé Agung. But the custom remains of asking contributions in a number of surrounding Balé Agung's, as a leftover of their participation in the *sĕbĕl* state in former times. Today not more than a single Balé Agung is considered *sĕbĕl*, and sometimes only the *banjar* (one of the village groups which make up the Balé Agung) in which the birth of the twins occurred.

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*845 184 In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kembar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

*845 184 569 582 [787] Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kembar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

*845 [554] 184 582 In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to estimate the Jabă are 94 %, the Triwangsă 6 %, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *buñching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know". [183]

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*845 184 these animals were not to be found, the parents of the twins must themselves be hitched to the plough. The use of the two rare buffalo for the occasion of a big *mĕcharu* was verified by the *sĕngguhu nabé*, the teacher, of Pějatèn, but he had not heard of hitching up the parents, only saying their legs were to be tied up lightly with threecolored thread. The three colored thread is mentioned in this lontar.

*845 [782] Other offerings at the *mĕlis* are a roast pig, a duck, and five chickens, a new fan such as is used in the kitchen, a new clay cooking pot. At the house must be also a roast pig, duck, five chickens, and four new pots. And at the Balé Agung a roast pig, two ducks, five chickens, the throne to the Sun god. It is repeated many times that the Bujanggă gets 1700 *kèpèng's*, at the *ngĕlungah*, at the return to the house from the *mĕlis*, etc., but the order of the writing is so confused that it is hard to tell how often this fee is to be payed. He gets also many of the offerings, and after officiating at the *désă* temple, on return from *mĕlis*, he gets 3200 *kèpèng's* and an entire set of clothes. At this time, among other things, fifteen ducks, twenty-five chickens, a pig, and five ducklings are offered. And the water used for purification is of eleven kinds, including that from the sea, from the lake, and from the various sorts of springs.

[783] [823]

The lontar then states that the people with twins (*manak salah bunching kĕmbar*) must be banished by the villagers for forty-two days, and must pay for the offerings *amanchă-sangă panggung*, one *panggung* or altar-full to be placed on land surrounded by water, on the edge of the village, beside the bridge, at the crossroads, at the *balé* where the birth took place, at the Balé Agung, at a meeting of three roads, and at the house. When the gods are carried to the sea there are more offerings on the sea shore and on the return to the *désă* temple.

"Do not be short of the way of this writing", it says, "lest twins be born again. According to the birth of the people, the way of the ceremony must be, high for the high, middle for the middle, low for the low.

[554]

"If there is *mĕcharu* at the Balé Agung of the whole

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country, at each *banjar* must be a small *pĕngĕlungahan*, outside the house small offerings ... at the household shrine ... at the Balé Agung must be the great *mĕcharu ékadasă ludră* with buffalo, cow, tiger, rhinoceros, the contents of the forest, the contents of the sea, the contents of the rice-fields, a complete set, with metal and gold and gilded cloth ... If the ceremony is *mĕpanchă walikramă*, five, if *mĕwrĕspati kalpă* three times the animals (are reduplicated), if *yamă rĕsigană saptă* five, if *mepanchă kĕlud* once, for each, the low, middle and high, a dog of three colors. The descendant of the Bujanggă officiates".

These are the names for the various forms or levels of the *mĕcharu, ékadasă ludră* the highest, *mepanchă kĕlud* the lowest. The sense of this passage seems to be that the highest-born people should have the most elaborate *mĕcharu*, which includes the buffalo, cow, tiger, rhinoceros, etc. Lower people would be content with less, and their offerings would be acceptable because of their inability to provide more. One can interpret the *ékadasă ludră*, which carries the meaning of 'ten times', even to reduplication of the tiger, buffalo, etc. ten times. But more probably the reduplication refers only to lower animals such as chickens and ducks. There are many names for *mĕcharu*, and their requirements vary according to the 'authority'. For instance, the Sĕngguhu priest called *Juru Rĕsi* in Lod-tunduh (district Ubud) has a lontar in which *ékadasă ludră* calls for 26 buffalo, and is to be celebrated at Bĕsakih. Nothing is said about tigers and rhinoceros. According to his text the *charu's* are: *panchă sanak*, the lowest,

panchă kĕlud, with goat and goose
balik sumpah, with cow and pig
taur gĕntuh, with one buffalo
sapuh sapuh, with three buffalo
panchă walikramă, with five buffalo
ékadasă ludră, with 26 buffalo
mĕnyĕgjĕg bumi, with 46 buffalo,

this last only celebrated at the time the country was "made to stand". Both this Sĕngguhu and the one from Tonjă

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through them, may be of interest because of the foreignness of the setting, of the society in which they are made. My method will consist in an enumeration of a series of patterns of behavior, beginning with the simplest, which give to the outsider his initial impression. The simplest passages of behavior differ from our own no less than do the highly complex thought mechanisms, so closely interlocked with them. Ordinary behavior, the way of walking, of sitting, of greeting acquaintances, of taking nourishment, speech-habits, gesture, and facial expression, all these differ from our own, and all are founded not only on the way of life, but on the people's conception of it, and of the place of the individual in relation to it. And conversely, the higher concepts are built up out of component units, the simpler habits of ordinary behavior. In a discussion of the Balinese temper we shall have to consider both phases, and we shall find them often interdependent and inseparable.

Bearing and Pace

To a Westerner, the most striking characteristic in the ordinary behavior of a Balinese is the absolute poise and balance of his bearing, noticeable in his posture, his walk, his slightest gesture. All mature men and women have this poise, and even the small children develop it with remarkable rapidity. Almost never does one see a stooped or curving back even among the old people, and clumsiness and lack of coördination are rare. The impression is that of a nation favored with an unusually fine physique, with natural dignity and ease in every motion. But together with the impression of ease, one remarks a sort of *carefulness* in the bearing, as if each foot were placed in its appointed place, each turn of the head or flick of the wrist calculated not to disturb an equilibrium delicately set up, and hanging somewhere unseen within the individual. One learns that the Balinese is never unconscious of his position in space, in relation to *kadja*,[1] North, which is the direction of the mountains, and *kelod*, South, the direction of the sea; and in relation to his position above the ground, which should not be higher than that of his social superior.

[1] The mountains which form the central part of the island are conceived as the abode of the gods, and the highest and most holy place. The sea is by contrast the lowest place, and although there is also a god of the sea, the sea and the seashore are conceived as unholy, and all that is filthy must be cast there, or into the rivers which carry their own filth down to the sea. As the present observations were made in South Bali, for the sake of convenience *kadja* is translated North and *kelod* South. On the other side of the mountains, in North Bali, *kadja* means South, and *kelod* North, since the relative position of the inhabitants to the mountains is reversed. *Kangin*, East, and *kaoeh*, West, remain the same in both localities.

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857 consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with
858 the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and
823 "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

823 Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in
513 North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the
[764] Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

829 By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which
506 "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard
342 of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation
867 of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

593 In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrange-
516 ment of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether
574 or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the
[585] host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest
793 pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the
594 men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women
554 of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for
565 the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs
[516] were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

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and woman to be caused when the male organ finally achieves contact with the *manik*.[10]

Although a free display of the affection between the sexes, except in private, is forbidden, the Balinese have a strong tendency to hold on to and caress each other in all relations where no sexual connotation is implied. Fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, love to fondle the young children, to press their faces into them and "sniff" them, just as in the relation between a man and a woman. Two girls, two boys, or two bearded ancients will stroll along a road holding hands, or with their arms about each other. Such gestures should not be misconstrued as evidences of homosexuality, for they are no more than the habitual expressions of a demonstratively affectionate people.

Manifestations of anger are remarked much less frequently than those of love, fear, and affection in the everyday life. An equable temper is certainly the characteristic one among the Balinese. If a man is easily angered, he is said to have *kapala angin*, a Malay expression meaning "a windy head." Although one often hears voices raised in explosive and admonitory speech, they can hardly be said to be expressing anger, for among the adults, as among the children, superiors have always the right to call down their inferiors, an elder brother to speak harshly to a younger, a man to "order" (never simply to ask) his wife to do something for him. Each Balinese is habituated to thinking of himself as relatively more or less powerful than all the other members of his familiar group. And if he is less powerful, he obeys naturally and usually without remonstrance. By contrast, in larger groups, such as communal organizations, whose members are on a less intimate footing with each other, great care is taken to preserve the equality between the members. Each man is reluctant to appear to be giving an order or dictating in any way to his social equal. For this reason, in any group of workers the man whom we would call the "foreman" seems always inefficient and lacking in administrative powers; and the resulting accomplish-

[10] The reproductive function of semen is not unknown to them, as is illustrated in the popular legend of the creation of Kala, to whom Çiva gave birth alone, by producing a single drop of semen. The parallel with the *manik* idea is, however, interestingly carried out in the legend, for it is only on being repeatedly struck by the arrows of the gods that the drop of semen becomes alive, gets arms and legs, a head, genitals, etc., and finally stands up and shouts, a fully formed Kala. It is difficult to tell whether the theme of the repeated striking refers to the rhythmic motion of copulation, or to an idea that a single sexual act is not sufficient to cause the development of the embryo, and that the man must continue to "strike" during gestation, so that the child will grow.

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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

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243 312 624 regions there are elected chiefs—usually called *klian subak*, as opposed to *klian bandjar*—over the subak, while the higher levels of watershed and river system organization are coordinated by appointed officials of the central government as the heirs of the traditional irrigation and tax officials of the old Balinese kingdoms. But, again, it is primarily the subak as a whole which determines in the light of its inherited traditions, its own policies.

621 312 243 The subak is responsible for the maintenance of its irrigation system, a task involving almost continual labor, for the apportionment of water among members of the subak, and for the scheduling of planting. It levies fines for infractions of rules (stealing water, ignoring planting directives, shirking work, and so on), maintains the subak temples and carries out a whole sequence of ritual activities connected with the agricultural cycle, controls fishing, fodder gathering, duck herding and other secondary activities in the subak, and so on and so forth. In most of the larger subak today the actual irrigation work—the constant repair of dams and canals and the perpetual opening and closing of water gates involved in water distribution—is carried out by only a part of the subak membership, called the "water group," which then receives a money payment from those not so working, the amount again being determined by the subak as [487] a whole. Complex patterns of share tenancy, involved systems of controlled crop rotation, varying modes of internal subak organization, and the increasing efforts by the government water officials to improve inter-subak coordination complicate the whole picture. But everywhere the status of the subak as an independent, self-regulating, corporate group with its own rules and its own purposes remains as unchallenged today as it was in the times of the Balinese kings.

564 554 4. *Commonality of ascribed social status.* The Balinese, like the Indians from whom they have borrowed (and reformulated) so much, have commonly been described as having a caste system. They do, in the sense that social status is patrilineally inherited, that marriage is fairly strictly regulated in terms of status, and that, save for a few unusual exceptions, mobility between levels within the prestige system is in theory impossible and in practice difficult. But they do not in the sense of possessing a ranked hierarchy of well-defined corporate groups, each with specific and exclusive occupational, social, and religious functions all supported by elaborate patterns of ceremonial avoidance and commensality and by a complex belief system justifying radical status inequality. Were the term "caste" not so deeply ingrained in the literature on Bali, it might be less confusing to speak of the Balinese as having a "title system," for it is in terms of a set of explicit titles, passing from father to child and attached to the individual's name as a term both of address and reference, that prestige is distributed.

Following Indian usage, the Balinese divide themselves into four main groups: Brahmana, Satria, Vesia, and Sudra. Since in such a classification more than 90 per cent of the population falls into the fourth category, a more common division for everyday use is made between *Triwangsa* ("the three peoples"), the first three groups taken as a unit, and the *Sudra*, which in a

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broad and not altogether consistent way corresponds to the gentry-peasantry distinction common to nonindustrial civilizations generally. Each group is then subdivided further in terms of the title system, the actual basis of the individual's rank in the society. Given a sample list of titles *Ida Bagus, Tjokorda, Dewa, Ngakan, Bagus, I Gusti, Gusti, Gusi, Djero, Gde* any but the most uninformed Balinese could tell you they were placed in a generally descending order of status, but only a small minority of theorists could tell you that the first was a Brahmana title, the next four Satria, the next three Vesia, and the last two Sudra.[8] In making status distinctions a man thinks and talks in terms of titles, not in terms of caste.

In general, a man may marry anyone of the same title or lower, a woman anyone of the same title or higher—thus hypergamy. In pre-Dutch times (i.e., before 1906, for South Bali only came under direct Dutch control at the beginning of this century) miscaste marriages were punished by exile or—particularly in the case of a Triwangsa girl and a Sudra man—death. Even today a girl marrying down is commonly "thrown away" by her family, in the sense that she is no longer recognized as kin and all social intercourse between her and her parents ceases. Under modern conditions such breaches often heal after some years have passed, particularly if the mismatch is not too great; but miscaste marriages are in any case very rare even today.

As the number of Triwangsa is so much less than the number of Sudra, status regulation of marriage means that the patterns of affinal connection tend to work out rather differently for the two groups, in that most Triwangsa marriages are hamlet exogamous, i.e., interlocal, while most Sudra marriages are hamlet endogamous, i.e., intralocal. This contrast lifts the horizontally linked Triwangsa up as a supra-hamlet all-Bali group over the highly localized Sudra; a pattern congruent, of course, with the fact that the Triwangsa almost completely monopolized the interlocal, superordinate political and religious roles of the traditional Balinese state structure, as they do today of the Balinese branch of the Indonesian civil service.

The caste (or title) composition of any given hamlet (or temple group, or irrigation society) varies very widely. In one locality one may find representatives of a wide range of titles in a smooth gradient from the highest to the lowest, in another only very high and very low ones, in a third only middle range or only very high ones, in a fourth nothing but Sudra, and so on. And, as caste is a crucial factor in both political and kinship organization, such differences entail important differences in social structure. Prestige stratification in Bali is a powerful integrative force both on the local and on the island-wide levels.

5. *Consanguineal and affinal kinship ties.* Descent and inheritance are patrilineal in Bali, residence is virilocal, but kinship terminology is classic Hawaiian—i.e., wholly bilateral and generational. The major exception to patri-descent and residence is that a man who has no sons may marry a daughter uxorilocally and designate her as his heir; her husband abandons his rights

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

575 sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

[181] As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

634 631 621 *7. Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.* In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

●[554]

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,

[628]

[97 cont.]

771 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of
174 the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound
621 up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is
[564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession
[623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses
[624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is
554 on an equal footing with these executive members, and above
[776] them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the déwa, when the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[99 cont.]

624 In more recent times a new functionary has been created in the old-fashioned villages, the penjarikan-dèsa, or village clerk, who is responsible to the pasèk and the council of elders.

623 554 The village councilor receives little material reward as the fruit of his office; actually each has a right to a double portion in the distribution of the temple offerings. They are, however, always accorded other distinctions: sometimes a portion of the great bench in the meeting room is reserved for them and separated by a groove from that of the other members.

621 565 In these old-fashioned dèsa, the exclusive society represented by the descendants of the first founders of the village is clearly seen. They do not permit later arrivals to have claims on the land or to have a voice in the administration of the village. Today, however, especially in the mountain areas, the old-fashioned villages are somewhat more kindly disposed toward outsiders; after some years they are admitted as special members of the dèsa association.

The new villages have a quite different character, and this exclusive spirit does not prevail. The aim of the dèsa [100] [623] association here was to look after community interests, provide for safety, and to fulfill the duties to the gods and the sovereign. From this sprang the general rule that every male inhabitant becomes a member of the dèsa as soon as he marries; special advantages concerning the possession of land are not attached to this membership.

The administration of the new type of dèsa is completely different from that of the old-fashioned ones. The council of elders no longer exists; the leadership of the meeting and the [622 793] office of executive is delegated to one man, the klian, who is one of the members of the association chosen according to the instructions of the godhead through the mouth of the person he inspires in the temple. It sometimes happens that the villagers are not immediately satisfied with the choice and press for a consultation of the godhead.

793 A pasèk is no longer appointed in this kind of village. In his place is the pamangkoe, the keeper of the temple, who

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
Javanese OE5 Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

"old style" and "new style" desa. In the old-style desa a special group of married citizens is obliged and privileged to carry out the functions of worship. The membership of such groups numbers twenty or multiples of twenty. The members are holders of certain particular agricultural lands. At least, they must be landed proprietors and married. Succession to the group is based on a variety of principles. The oldest villagers have special administrative functions and a place to fulfil in the worship of the gods. Even the peacemakers in village disputes are in essence religious administrators, for they protect the village territory from defilement brought on by quarrels.

The social strata make up the Balinese village. The nuclear group of first-settlers holds the first rank. A larger group of subordinate middle-class people shares, to some extent, in the land and has limited responsibilities. Lodgers and immigrants form the third class, known as "sampingan."

In the villages situated outside of the former principalities, there are various societies, which are subordinate to the village authority. Such are the "banjar," the district society, the young men's and young women's societies, the music and drama society, and so forth. In the appanage territory these freely-formed societies exist as autonomous communities outside of village authority.

Citizenship in the new-style villages is less complex. Every adult, married male, who has a residential compound and has lived in the village for a year, is admitted to the village society. He is, in fact, obliged to join up. Administration by a village headman (kilan), sometimes assisted by some henchmen, replaces the gerontocracy of the old-style system.

Alongside of the two basic types of Balinese communities are the important irrigation associations (subak), a union of sawah[24] owners under a headman, but organized in various ways, and variously aligned with the villages.

In Lombok, the desa is a territorially-based community made up of unrelated families. It possesses an area of disposal and is governed by a "kepala desa."

11. *The Javanese desa.*—The Javanese desa is another type of community, whose base is purely territorial. Its constituency is formed of unrelated individuals and families. And in addition to the nuclear desa citizenry, there are alien, non-native residents, mainly

[24] [Cultivated fields held under a community right of disposal. See the next chapter.]